UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Capitalism and Communism; Brothers Under the Skin

By EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

Some Church Leaders

By SYDNEY STRONG

England Looks Behind

By ROBERT WHITAKER

Thoughts of Tolstoy

PART IV

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Contents

EDITORIAL— Page

Notes 179
Capitalism and Communism: Brothers Under the Skin—EDMUND B. CHAFFEE..... 181
Jottings—J. H. H..... 182

ARTICLES—

American Notes—Some Church Leaders, III—Sydney Strong 183
England Looks Behind—ROBERT WHITAKER... 184
Thoughts of Tolstoy—Part IV..... 186

POETRY—

Man's Bloody Game—*Sir Walter Scott*..... 179
Confusion—GRANVILLE TRACE..... 185
Prayer—FLORA J. ARNSTEIN..... 185
California—FREDERIC COVER..... 189

THE STUDY TABLE—

A New Book on Henry George—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL..... 187
The League of Nations—G. JINARAYADASA.... 188
A Deserved Reputation—RAYMOND KRESENSKY 189

CORRESPONDENCE—

Revolution Marches on in India—K..... 190
A Friend in India—GOVINDLAL D. SHAH..... 190
Cancelling the War Debts—F. S. KINDER..... 190
Oppressed Bulgarians in Greece—P. G. SHANEFF 190
Thanks!—WALTER KUHN..... 191
Au Revoir—GUSTAVE H. ULRICH..... 191

THE FIELD—

The Seminar in the Caribbean—HUBERT C. HERRING 191
The English Fellowship of Reconciliation in India 192

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CVI MONDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1930 NUMBER 12

MAN'S BLOODY GAME

The hunting tribes of air and earth
Respect the brethren of their birth;
Nature, who loves the claim of kind,
Less cruel chase to each assign'd.
The falcon, poised on soaring wing,
Watches the wild-duck by the spring;
The slow-hound wakes the fox's lair;
The greyhound presses on the hare;
The eagle pounces on the lamb;
The wolf devours the fleecy dam;
Even tiger fell, and sullen bear,
Their likeness and their lineage spare,
Man, only, mars kind Nature's plan,
And turns the fierce pursuit on man;
Plying war's desultory trade,
Incursion, flight, and ambuscade,
Since Nimrod, Cush's mighty son,
At first the bloody game begun.

Sir Walter Scott, in "Rokeby."

We remember without much difficulty that Herbert Hoover was elected President in order to guarantee the perpetuation of prosperity in this blessed land. We also remember that the recent Tariff Bill was enacted in order to serve the interests of prosperity. But how many of us remember that Mr. Mellon, "the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton," engineered the reduction of income taxes a few years ago, especially the taxes of the rich in the upper gradings of the schedules, in order to insure prosperity? If we take all this money away from the rich, said Mr. Mellon, himself one of the richest men in the country, we will be robbing these benefactors of their investment power. A rich man doesn't spend his income. Oh, no—he never has any houses, or horses, or jewels, or private yachts, or women! He just takes his money, and, after deducting enough to cover the modest needs of his simple life, he turns all the rest back into industry, and thus keeps business going on a larger and larger scale. If we take this money away in the form of taxes, we simply deny to industry the chance to expand, and to produce goods, and to pay high wages to labor, and thus to establish prosperity forever. It was in answer to this siren song that the income rates were lowered, more especially in the upper levels. And now look at the country! What Mr. Mellon was doing, of course, was talking "bunk" in the interest of himself and of all his wealthy colleagues; and, inasmuch as "there is one born every minute," the "bunk" went over big. Oh, how we have been bamboozled by the political sleight-of-hand artists durin the last few years! And, oh, how we are being bamboozled again, right now, by all this talk about the speedy return of prosperity, and all the rest! The "dopesters" get us coming, and they get us going, they fool us when we are up, and once more when we are down. And always, of course, "we, the people," pay the bill on every day of final reckoning.

Sweet and lovely it is to see how the political brethren in this country dwell together in unity. The inner harmony of Republicians and Democrats these days is like the inner harmony of one of our ultra-modern symphonies—all cacophony, and no melody! Senator Fess, chairman of the Republican National Committee, for example, makes an important statement about the late lamented election, and immediately he is savagely attacked by Ex-Senator Wadsworth on the one hand and by Representative Britten on the other. In the same way, the noble Seven, not from Thebes, but from New York and Washington, issue a statement on behalf of the triumphant Democracy, promising cooperation with the Republicans to end the present economic difficulties, and at once they are taken to task by the peppery Senator Glass, of Virginia, for "apologizing for victory." The fact of the matter is, of course, that the two old parties are more hopelessly divided within themselves than any political parties anywhere have ever been divided. In the Democratic Party, we find the rural South fundamentally at odds with the industrial Northeast. In the Republican Party, we find such basically Republican states as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois utterly severed from the great Republican areas of the West. So bitter is this internal division on certain acute issues that we actually find certain Republican strongholds, such as Massachusetts, going Democratic, and certain Democratic strongholds, such as Texas and Mississippi, going Republican. Yet the old names stick, and the old party machines creak on! Prohibition may yet save us politically by shattering the two parties so completely that the pieces will have to be put together into two new parties which will represent real divisions on real issues.

In New York City there is an organization known as the League for Political Education. An innocent person might assume from this high-sounding name that this organization existed for the purpose of educating the public on matters of political interest and importance. Such a person might expect also that the platform of the League would be occupied by speakers of knowledge and experience, and therefore having authority. As a matter of fact, however, the League for Political Education is nothing like this at all. It is just an amiable aggregation of idle and well-to-do women of middle age and unquestioned social prestige, whose one occupation in life is seeking a new sensation. Of course no sensation is quite so delicious as that of seeing and hearing a famous person, and being led by this person into the belief that one is thinking. So the League makes a specialty of providing for its panting audience the most distinguished list of intellectual non-entities that the world has ever seen. Two recent samples give perfect illustration of what we mean. One is the Princess Alexandria Kropotkin—ah! a princess, what a thrill!—who talked to the League about Russia. Absolutely ignorant of her subject, she proclaimed the "curse of Communism," compared Stalin to our own Al Capone (how the dear ladies shuddered at the thought!), and declared that "the streets in Moscow were torn up continually on orders from the government to offer obstacles to street meetings and uprisings." This, lest you do not recognize it, is "political education"! A second speaker, recently heard by the League without cracking a smile is Mr. Randolph S. Churchill—ah! what a name, *Churchill!*—the nineteen-year-old son of the great Winston. This babe in arms settled all existing international problems in less than an hour —and how the dear ladies *did* applaud! India, Palestine, China, disarmament, war, peace—little Randolph had answers to every question which simply put to shame the stupidity of MacDonald and the witlessness of Hoover. It was all just too cute, too *wonderful,* too THRILLING my dears! Of course, the League for Political Education is a joke; but also, be it said, a very terrible joke. For it is the slavish pandering to this kind of taste that makes Americans the most gullible people in the world.

To consider the logical and ultimate consequences of our actions is one of the most accurate ways of measuring the quality of these actions. Have our "wet" friends, we wonder, ever considered the final meaning of their attitude toward the 18th Amendment? Let us imagine, for the sake of argument, that the "wet" campaign against Prohibition is at long last successful. Let us suppose that disobedience of the law becomes so impudent, so wide-spread, so demoralizing that finally in weariness or sheer disgust the citizenry of the nation decide to revert to the good old days of the saloon. What does this mean? That a precedent has been forever established in America for resistance and defeat of law by process of nullification! The Prohibition law was enacted by the precise methods laid down by the Constitution, and has been affirmed and sustained by decision after decision of the Supreme Court. It had the backing of an overwhelming majority of the electorate educated by a hundred years of ceaseless war against alcohol. The opportunity to repeal the law was as wide open as was the opportunity to enact it, and by the same proper and appointed methods. But the "wets," impatient or scornful of such democratic procedure, simply took matters into their own hands, and, in the interests of personal appetite or of an idea of liberty as ancient as the individualistic eighteenth century, defied the law. Here is nullification established, sanctified, glorified by success! Henceforth and forever is notice served upon the people that if, anywhere in city, state, or nation, you do not like a law, just break it, laugh at it, and call yourself a "smart guy." This way, of course, is anarchy, and the ultimate destruction of the republic. It was because Jackson saw this in 1832 that he crushed nullification in South Carolina. It was because Lincoln saw this in 1861 that he crushed secession though it took four years and a million lives. It is because millions of citizens see this today that the "wets" will be fought gladly to a finish.

But Mahatma Gandhi is defying, breaking the law in India! What is the difference between the nationalistic non-cooperationists in India and the "wet" non-cooperationists in America? Why does UNITY support the ones and repudiate the others? An immediate answer is suggested by the fact that Gandhi is himself a Prohibitionist, and one object of his great campaign is the total abolition of the liquor traffic. This sainted leader of his people would himself resent the idea that there is any identity between his cause and that of the American "wets" who are seeking to restore what he would so gladly destroy. But there are more direct and significant differences than this. Thus, Gandhi and his followers are refusing to cooperate with an alien government, which has conquered and now rules the people by force of arms, and which denies all democratic methods for redress of grievances, whereas the "wets" in this country are refusing to cooperate with their own government, which was established and is sustained by the free rule of its citizens, and which offers full opportunity by legal methods for correction of all injustice. Again, Gandhi and his followers are *openly* breaking the law imposed upon them by their oppressors without their consent and gladly accepting martyrdom for their offense, whereas

the "wets" are breaking the law covertly, cynically, crookedly, and carefully avoiding punishment. Again, Gandhi and his followers are acting upon the noblest motives and pledging loyalty to the highest ideals of non-violence, goodwill and brotherhood, whereas the "wets," characteristically allied with the vilest elements in the community, are seeking in pure selfishness to satisfy their own appetites at no matter what expense to the public weal. Any man who can confuse Gandhi's cause with the anti-prohibition movement in this country would confuse the angel, Gabriel, with the demon, Belial.

It would be difficult to conceive of a man of greater unimportance than the late Coleman Du Pont, of Delaware. In personality and ability, in opinions and actions, he was the acme of insignificance. Yet he was a U. S. Senator in his day, his influence was great in business and in politics, and when he died on November 12th last, his passing was a conspicuous item of news on the front pages of most of the newspapers. The New York *Times* published his picture, and two whole columns of obituary detail. Nothing could seem more curious than this, were it not for the fact that Coleman Du Pont was a rich man, many times over a millionaire. In a money-mad civilization like ours, this one fact, irrespective of everything else, made this man an important figure in the life of the nation. Imagine it! He never had a thought worth noting, never spoke a word worth remembering, never did an act worth celebrating, yet during his life he outshone poets and musicians, statesmen and scholars, and in his death held the attention of the land for twenty-four hours. If this isn't a measure of America, and of what America is interested in, we don't know where such a measure can be found. *Money!* Acquire it in any fashion, pile it up to any extent, and at once you become a mighty figure in the land. Despise it, ignore it, neglect it and straightway you are a mere nobody among countless other nobodies. What wonder that men are hungry for gold, and our whole society devoured by lust for gain! The Du Pont episode is to us like a flash of lightning in the pitch-black night. It illumines the landscape for one dreadful instant, and shows how fast and sure we are moving to the pit of doom where all earlier civilizations have without exception preceded us.

Capitalism and Communism: Brothers Under the Skin

It has often been observed that the fiercest and bloodiest warfare takes place between those who are in fundamental agreement. The quarrels of relatives are notorious. Civil war is the most bitter warfare. The followers of Athanasius battled most intolerantly against the followers of Arius in the early days of the Christian church. There has been more hatred of Protestants for Catholics and Catholics for Protestants than either have had for the Jew or the Moslem. To make flaming hatred there must be fundamental agreement. There must be a good deal of common ground in order to differ. This is markedly true when we look at the great struggle now going on between the two great economic systems of Communism and Capitalism. There is such intense hatred between the Capitalist and the Communist because they have so much in common, far more than either likes to admit. Glance briefly at some of the assumptions common to each.

First, and most obviously, they each place unquestioning faith in the machine. Capitalism drives ever onward toward more and more machinery. It is notorious that one of the greatest factors in the present unemployment crisis is the displacement of millions by machines. The whole aim is to get every process so mechanized that little human labor or human intelligence will be required. Our great industrial leaders sing paeans of praise to the machine. Communism moves in precisely the same direction. It is well known that the Russians are anxious to learn everything possible about Henry Ford and his productive methods. They want to get every process on the moving belt just as he has done. Both the Capitalist and the Communist rely upon the machine to solve the economic problems of the race. How alike they are in this is shown by their attitude toward Gandhi, the saint of India. They both are contemptuous of his plans for returning to the old hand processes. They view him as an idle dreamer. His distrust of machinery is looked upon as absurd and reactionary. Both Capitalist and Communist worship the machine.

Second: Both Capitalism and Communism are materialistic. The Communist is openly so; the Capitalist impliedly. The Communist urges men to rule out fully and completely any thought of any future life or any values not centered upon this earth and this life here and now. So far do they carry this that the Communist leaders look with the greatest disfavor upon any experimenting in the field of psychical research. The Capitalist less frankly but just as truly centers his attention upon things and the piling up of things. Material prosperity is his goal too. To get the world's work done he appeals to no motive except man's interest in accumulating goods; he distrusts all other motives. Both Communism and Capitalism are materialistic in their philosophy and their whole outlook upon life. At heart they both believe that men live by bread alone.

Third: Both Capitalism and Communism agree in having little or no faith in the masses of the people. Both believe that a dictatorship is necessary. The Capitalist is convinced that the people competent to rule find their way to the top and that the financial oligarchy which rules us today represents the group best able to hold society together. They are the fit. Mr. Coolidge, when president, expressed this thought when he maintained that it was necessary to reduce the taxes of the rich in order that they might prosper for only as they prospered could the rest of us prosper. In Russia we find precisely the same assumption that a small group must control. In theory we have the dictatorship of the proletariat. Actually as everyone knows it is the dictatorship of the Communist party. Even that is not quite correct for within the Communist party there is a group of the elect who really control the party. And within the group itself there is an inner circle of nine men with Stalin at the head who are the real dictators of Russia. Ex-Ambassador Gerard said that about sixty men controlled the life of America; in Russia, as Sherwood Eddy and other well informed observers are making plain, nine men are in control. But whether sixty or nine, it is fundamentally the same. Capitalism believes in the dictatorship of Wall Street and Communism in the dictatorship of the nine. Both believe in dictatorship.

Fourth: It follows from what we have just pointed out, but it ought to be made explicit, that both Capitalism and Communism believe in the use of violence to further their ends. Both maintain their power by physical force and have no scruples about using it. The Capitalist countries show this in their reliances upon their armies as they face one another in their struggle for the markets of the world. They show this same attitude as they prepare their police and the militia to deal with their foes within. Strikes are put down by force in the industrial west; force and terror overwhelm opponents of the dictatorship in Communist Russia. There is little hesitation in using the prison, assassination and repression of every kind to carry out the plans of both dictatorships. In stating this we state no more than the obvious.

Thus there are some very fundamental agreements between Capitalism and Communism. A more detailed analysis would doubtless bring others to light. While both Capitalist and Communist are indignant at the suggestion, there is nearly as much unity between them as there is disagreement. Each accepts machine production with zeal and enthusiasm and pins his hopes of a utopia upon it. Both are essentially materialistic in their outlook. Neither has much faith in the ability of the common people. Each is determined to rule by physical force. These two economic systems have about as much in common as the two main versions of Christianity, Catholicism and Protestantism. Capitalism and Communism both assume the value of high power machinery and the centering of all values upon the here and the now. Both represent the interest of an industrial as opposed to an agricultural civilization. They are brothers under the skin.

Today these brothers are fighting a battle to the death. But in the long run, no matter which is the victor, that victor will have to reckon with another spirit and another point of view. That spirit is the spirit of prophetic religion which, taking its origin among the ancient Hebrew people, has been the vital element in the whole Hebrew-Christian tradition. It is the spirit which we call today the Christ spirit, the spirit which dares to say to this whole machine civilization that men and women are of more value than machines. It is this spirit which insists, in spite of all political and social changes, that there are some values which are greater than the material ones and not to be exchanged for them. This spirit will not make peace with Capitalism; it rejects much that inheres in Communism. To the Capitalist the adherents of this prophetic religion seem subversive; to the Communist them seem reactionary. But the spirit they represent cannot be permanently crushed by either Capitalism or Communism. It dares to tell both the brothers that their gods have feet of clay.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Jottings

It is well to remember that the "idle," about whom we are hearing so much, are not the only idle. We have plenty of people, even these days, who are idle and yet have plenty of money. If we could take some of this money away from those who do no work because they do not have to, and give it to those who do no work because they can find none to do, we might be getting somewhere.

The 1930 Nobel Prize for Physics has been awarded to Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, Professor of Physics in Calcutta University. Professor Raman is a citizen of a country which is not fit for self-government!

Whenever we read of these elaborate funerals of Chicago and New York "racketeers" in Roman Catholic churches, we wonder—what about it? There was a time when the Roman Church refused burial for cause!

Birth control is certainly making marvellous progress—and in unexpected places, too! Five thou-

sand rabbits were recently released in the woods of New Jersey, to make up for the many rabbits killed by automobilists.

Tabloid newspapers, baby automobiles, miniature golf—this age is getting too small-minded to give us any pleasure.

We have received a copy of the Moscow *News*, a new weekly published in English, in the Russian capital, "for English-speaking people in the Soviet Union." Anna Louise Strong is the editor. The paper contains timely articles, editorials, and fascinating pictures—also a cartoon, showing two armament-makers traveling around Europe with vast loads of guns and bayonets, and labeled "Other things are dumped in Europe besides wheat."

J. H. H.

American Notes

Some Church Leaders. III

Harry F. Ward was named by Stephen S. Wise in his "Ten Church Leaders." Noting recently that he was to preach in the chapel of Union Theological Seminary, I went. This Seminary is located in the neighborhood where Columbia University and Riverside Church are found—a few blocks from the Hudson River, and 120 blocks (six miles) up-town in New York. Harry F. Ward is a member of the distinguished faculty, and doubtless it was his turn to fill the pulpit.

On the way to chapel, I could see out of the corner of my eye a long cue on Riverside Drive waiting to get into Dr. Fosdick's church—about a thousand people. On that corner—120th Street—is a conspicuous Baby Golf Court, and it was refreshing to see a church drawing a bigger crowd than golf. If I were a young and ambitious pastor nearby, I should be tempted to hand cards to those in the cue, inviting any who could not get into the big church to come over where they would find ample accommodation.

I found the Seminary chapel well filled as a black-gowned student waved me forward into a seat—as usual I must crawl over the end-seat occupant. I waited for the opening, noting that the pews were well supplied with prayer stools, very cushiony. My memory took me back to boyhood days when the Presbyterians used always to stand when they prayed! The windows of the chapel are well supplied with pictures of saints and apostles, and a huge cross was suspended over the choir. I noted on a card that "after the bendiction the congregation will stand until the Choir and the Minister have passed out." This worked well for me, for by it I chanced to meet Mrs. Ward, and was invited to a family meal, and had a chance to tell the family what Gandhi thought of their father!

Some music began to float through the air, growing in volume until a dozen begowned women singers and a dozen begowned men singers marched up the aisle. They were followed by some members of the faculty, and last of all came Harry F. Ward, the preacher of the day. A little later came an anthem by the choir. I was surprised to hear the Dean of the chapel first read the words of the anthem distinctly. Afterwards I saw the fitness of this precaution. The congregation sings well.

Dr. Wise made no mistake when he named Harry F. Ward as one of the "Ten Church Leaders." He has several points to his credit. His chief business is occupant of the Chair of Christian Ethics in Union. He is also father of the Social Service Department of the Methodist Church, with headquarters at Methodism's center at 150 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. He is also President of the American Civil Liberties Union. Every Monday, 1 P. M. he will be found at this Civic Club, presiding over the directors of the Union. It will take quite a tall monument to enumerate his official positions. His work outside the Seminary is all an expression of Christian Ethics. He carries the Golden Rule in his pocket after the fashion of a pupil of the carpenter. Long ago—more than 20 years—there appeared in the life of the churches of America what grew to be known as the "Social Creed." There were few church conferences without the passage of a social creed. They were as common as peace resolutions now. Harry F. Ward was as much as anybody behind that social creed movement. For it he received many blessings and cursings. There are scores of men in the ministry today, or in other public life, who learned their social creed at the knees of Harry F. Ward. The bishops of his Church keep their eyes on him, for they are not quite sure what application of the Sermon on the Mount he may next make, but they are proud of him; and because of him hundreds of promising young men are enlisted for Christian service. But the beauty of him is that he is just as much at home in a "Wabbly" meeting as in a Prayer meeting—and no more!

Here is his sermon, delivered quietly and earnestly. He used a manuscript. You can both hear and understand him. He took a text, "When He is come, he will convict the world in respect to sin." He remarked that he was aware that "what older races called sin, modern Americans would call self-expression. There is denial of sin." When moderns speak of "sin" they are thinking of a theological notion. They leave out of their reckoning conscience, filial impiety, community sense, which describe the possibilities of individual and social guilt. They do not take account of the overtones of existence, which imply cosmic experience. Then there is the "saint" of human experience, who expresses a seeking after holiness, and thus an acknowledgment of incompleteness, of sin. If this generation should fail to do the things Jesus says, it stands convicted in its self-righteousness. Who doesn't feel guilty, said the preacher, when he sees that this generation, with all its power to produce, cannot feed the hungry? A sense of guilt implies sin. There can never be a remedy until we feel our guilt, and cry out "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this

death?" We must find *our* wholeness with *man's* wholeness. The modernist ceases to struggle against evil. A stopping of the struggle marks the end of morality. The heart of the Christian doctrine is that God himself is sharing man's struggle, and the suffering of the world. If man's struggle for holiness is inhibited, the creation of conscience is stopped. Because of self-righteousness man ceases to grow. The doctrine of sin, the preacher said, is bound up with repentance. And how can we use our boasted education, unless we have a sense of inadequacy? We thus cut ourselves off from cosmic power. Our race cannot reach out and lay hold of God. Man is helpless and hopeless. There is no possibility of this modern world going anywhere except back to barbarism unless it realizes its sense of guilt and gets into the struggle against evil, and thus out of the tragic dilemma it is now in.

Later, at the dinner table, Dr. Ward pointed to several young men who were passing out of the dining-room. He remarked that they were part of a group of a dozen or more young men who had been "adopted" by the students of the Seminary until they found jobs. A committee had picked them up among the strangers at the water-front. A piece of Christian ethics in practice! When a young man gets a job, he leaves to make room for another. Meanwhile, he enjoys the privileges of a "student." This will go on during the emergency. As I walked away, I noted a man selling apples from a box of Wenatchees, price, 5 cents. There are 5,000 such men over the city selling apples. Each makes over $2.00 a box. Ordinarily, a man sells two boxes a day. Good idea! Good for the man, good for the buyer, good for the merchants, good for the apple-raisers—and in the end, good for the permanent fruit-stands by creating an appetite for fruit. Americans are inventive.

SYDNEY STRONG.

England Looks Behind

It is the morning of Armistice Day, 1930, on which I write. The Los Angeles *Morning Times*, which lies before me, carries on the front page certain curious paragraphs which are marked as from London, England, and are under the date of yesterday, November 10. The first of them reads:

"Questioning that the world has learned much since the Great War, Prime Minister MacDonald pleaded for disarmament in a speech given at the Lord Mayor's banquet tonight and broadcast to the United States. 'The old Adam is still rampant,' he said. 'Words are used which make us doubt how much the world has learned by the bitter, tragic experience of 1914 to 1918.'"

Mr. MacDonald is further quoted to this effect:

Great Britain, while perfectly prepared to lead the way, looks behind at the same time as she looks before her, and wants to know how the other nations are following her, because she cannot allow herself to be isolated in the steps she is taking to secure peace.

It is to many Americans still an intoxicating experience that a British Prime Minister can speak directly to an American audience from his place of prominence at a Lord Mayor's banquet in London, England, which is described in this instance as having been "a brilliant affair." The new Lord Mayor, Sir Phene Neal, "stood in the library of the Guildhall to receive the guests of the affair marking the beginning of his first year of office."

As to the distance from which Prime Minister MacDonald speaks to us magically across the seas, it may be well to recall the remark made not so long ago by another prominent Englishman, Gilbert K. Chesterton. It is not at hand in exact form, but in substance it was to this effect that "the world has achieved universal broadcast at the moment when it has nothing to say."

Also one is moved to cynical reflections at the mention of this "brilliant affair" at the Lord Mayor's banquet in London in which a representative of supposedly radical labor is the guest of honor and the chief spokesman. There is a rather perplexing passage to this report, quoted from the Associated Press, where Premier MacDonald is represented as saying, referring to the work of the British Imperial Conference just drawing to a close: "Problems of nationality, treaty-making and representation all have been discussed," he remarks, as well as the question "How His Majesty is to be approached and what sacred feet are to be entitled to cross his most sacred and private threshold." This last seems to be somewhat jumbled, with its reiteration of the word sacred, but the import of it is plain enough. It is silk-stocking and knee-breeches stuff.

But passing these items, which are more than incidental in the light which they throw upon the present Labor government of England, and accepting MacDonald's pessimism as to whether the world has learned anything in the twelve years since the Great War closed as the honest expression of a man who sincerely wants world peace, let us refer again to the most significant phrase in this report of what England's Prime Minister said: "Great Britain, while perfectly prepared to lead the way, looks behind at the same time as she looks before her."

It may seem over particularistic to remark that looking behind at the same time you look before you is a somewhat difficult attitude to hold. Let that pass! It is certainly not out of place, in view of the fact that Ramsay MacDonald is not only Prime Minister of England but is in high reputation throughout the Christian world for his religious faith, to call attention to a certain famous passage in the New Testament, from which book Mr. MacDonald has his inspiration as a professed pacifist. It is Paul who is speaking to a body of European Christians at the point where Christianity passed into Europe nearly two thousand years ago, Philippi:

Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

Also it is pertinent to recall here the words of Jesus himself, as reported most explicitly in Luke's Gospel:

And it came to pass, that as they went in the way, a

certain man said unto him, Lord, I will follow thee withersoever thou goest. And Jesus said unto him, Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head. And he said unto another, follow me. But he said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father. Jesus said unto him, let the dead bury their dead: but go thou and preach the kingdom of God. And another also said, Lord, I will follow thee; but let me first go bid them farewell, which are at home at my home. And Jesus said unto him, no man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.

Certainly no government is fit for such an hour as this which "looks behind at the same time as she looks before." Crises are not met in this spirit, and never were. If we must look behind let us take off our reading glasses, and get a long enough and a clear enough view to see something besides the small script of diplomatic papers and broken treaties. Here is a bit of historical reminiscence from quite another sort of an Englishman, Bernard Shaw: "If you are going to cross the Rubicon, cross it! Don't stand in the middle; you'll get hell from both sides." And to carry back a little farther, here are the words of an ancient queen who crossed her Rubicon before Caesar was born. It is the famous Jewess, Queen Esther, speaking: "So will I go in unto the king, which is not according to law, and if I perish, I perish." History records that when her uncle challenged her with the call, "Who knowest but that thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" it was after this manner she saved her people.

Armistice Day is each year a world-wide proclamation of the manner in which we make a mockery and a snare of our alleged propaganda for peace. The day is devoted to remembrance, in which military display and laudation are as seed broadcasted in the interests of new wars. No honest man can intelligently deny that the effect of the parades and the encomiums poured out "in remembrance of those who gave their all" are provocative in the minds of the children present of envy toward these lauded "heroes," and inner desire for a chance to walk the same "brave" ways. The conscientious objector, who saw the realities which even the lips of the politicians confess today, and told them forth at the cost of more than any soldier ever gave, are in open contempt with these public performers who glorify war while affecting to condemn it. The whole thing is a lying show, as when the Pied Piper of Hamlin town led the children of story, by song and dance, to the mammoth tomb of the mountain side which opened for them and then closed upon them. A worse bereavement than the parents of that fabled city experienced awaits our civilization if we go on with our pacific shams.

Nor is deliverance coming by way of English Labor governments under such leadership as Ramsay MacDonald will give. The spirit of high adventure and daring initiative that might even at this late hour make England a real leader of mankind through the challenge of an immediate and unconditional disarmament which would compel the admiration and the acquiescence of the world, is not in Mr. MacDonald. It is not in our own politicians, nor in any appreciable degree is it manifested in our churches. If world peace is realized without another world war, and the overthrow of all half-and-half governments and half-and-half preachments in both church and state, which I very much doubt, the peace movement will have to take upon itself a sternness and self-sacrifice such as it has not exhibited yet. How utterly the peace people failed us, even the political Socialists, in the Europe of 1914 and the United States of 1918, there is no need to tell here. Could these dead millions, whom the patriot paraders mock with their artificial flowers strewn on the graves of the victims of a like pacifism half a generation ago, rise from their untimely tombs, they would reject with indignation the false homage offered them. Not behind us, however, but before us, is the way of peace. They who will not dare a pacifism now altogether different from the broken reed of yesterday, and leave the dead to bury their dead, nor stay even for farewells with those who cannot go with them, are not fit for that kingdom of the God of peace whereunto we are called this hour.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

Confusion*

So they, because their hearts are pure, must die.
These youths and girls of twenty, smiling, brave,
Before they've lived must strangle, sink and lie,
Sweet corpses, in the fierce lime of the grave.
Their crime—it was not such a shameful thing—
Only that thoughts were high and they too young,
Too innocent, to know that greed is king
In this land where the name of Christ is sung.
How strange in such a troubled time that we
Would kill a child whose only fault is love
For poor and helpless men who never see
With hope and joy the red sun rise above
The smiling South where Lincoln made men free!
Ah! dear Lord Christ, how can these sad things be?

GRANVILLE TRACE.

*Written on seeing photographs of the six young people for whom the authorities at Atlanta are asking the death penalty.

The six Atlanta defendants, Mary Dalton aged 18, Ann Burlak aged 19, Joe Carr aged 19, M. H. Powers aged 26, Herbert Newton aged 26 and Henry Storey, whose age is not stated in the news dispatches, were indicted under a charge of insurrection for "attempting" to protest unemployment and a local graft scandal. The insurrection statute is a Civil War law never known to have been enforced previously, carrying the death penalty. The prosecuting attorney, John J. Hudson, is publicly clamoring for the extreme penalty. Theodore Dreiser is chairman of the Emergency Committee for Southern Political Prisoners, and John Dos Passos, 80 East 11th St., Room 430, New York City, is treasurer.

Prayer

Make me a sayer of good—Oh Lord!
Not wise, nor visioned as the seer,
Nor with a liquid tongue to twiddle syllables,
Nor yet urgent with oratory,
Nor the drama's antic spokesman;—
Neither a runnel for gossip,
A torrent for news,
Nor an insect buzzing with innuendo.
Make me a good sayer—
One who acclaims the sun,
Who savors the moon—for witchery, for madness;
Who reaffirms the stars.
Make me one who speaks for slighted color:
The rusty copper side of trees,
The sparkle on the rainy cob-web,
The ebony-bladed mussel shell;
And one who speaks for soundless sound:
The flutter of a single abandoned leaf,
The suck of tide over loose pebbles—
Make me a good sayer, Oh Lord!
For the guilty, the friendless,—
Make me him for whom nothing is small
Save the negators—and for them, too,
Make me the convincer, the champion,
The Sayer of Good.

—FLORA J. ARNSTEIN.

Thoughts of Tolstoy

[Selections from Tolstoy's "Readings for Every Day" here published for the first time in English]

XII

1

It is not well, when a man, instead of loving his brother, is angry at him. It is still worse, however, when a man assures himself that he is not such a man as all, but better than others; and that he may, therefore, treat others as he would not wish to be treated himself.

2

It is stupid when one man considers himself better than other men; and it is still more stupid when a whole nation considers itself better than other nations. But every nation, or the majority of every nation, lives in this stupid and pernicious sin.

3

Even as a man cannot lift himself alone, so he, alone, cannot exalt himself.

4

It is stupid when people are proud of themselves, of their own faces, but it is still more stupid when they are proud of their parents, of their ancestors, of their friends, of their class, of their nation.

A great share of the evil in the world arises from this silly pride: hence quarrels between man and man, between family and family, and wars between nation and nation.

5

People take pains to establish equality before their own law, and do not wish to hear of that equality which is established by eternal law, and which they violate with theirs.

6

A proud man is as if coated over with a crust of ice. Through this crust there is no way for any good feeling to enter.

7

Pride is stupid in that a proud man considers himself superior to all men, while he is not the only one of his kind in the world; but there are many such people, each of whom considers himself superior to others.

8

Pride is especially obnoxious in that people are proud of what they ought to be ashamed of: their power over other people, their riches.

XIII

1

People do themselves much harm for the sake of the lusts of their flesh, but they do still more harm in order that men should praise them.

2

Worldly wisdom consists in living as every one else does; true wisdom consists in living for the soul, even though a life be condemned by every one else.

3

Man can become accustomed to the very worst life, if only all around him live in the same way.

4

"One cannot go against *all*," people often say. But if what you are doing is good, then you are not alone, for God is always with him, who is doing a good work. And with whom God is, with him sooner or later all men will be.

5

During the first period of his life, man follows in the main the demands of his animal nature. The first step by which he usually rises is a struggle with animal impulses, for the sake of submission to the opinion of those people among whom he lives. The next step is that most difficult struggle against solicitude for the opinion of others; and submission only to the demands of the soul, of conscience.

6

Often men do not cease to lead bad lives, in spite of the fact that conscience reproaches them, merely because others are doing the same as they. But others are doing the same as they for the very reason, that they are doing as they do. So that they live badly because others live badly, and others live badly because they, in common with others, live badly. But someone must begin, if they wish to stop living badly. Someone must stop thinking of what people will say, someone must snap his fingers at their opinions and begin to live, not as everyone else does, but according to conscience.

XIV

1

A merciful man is never rich. A rich man is certainly not merciful.

2

Working people often try to pass over into the class of the well-to-do, living on the labor of others. They call that turning into worthwhile people; when, as a matter of fact, this means turning worthwhile people into bad ones.

3

Men seek wealth, but if they only knew how much good people lose in gaining wealth and living it, they would try to get rid of it just as eagerly as they now try to acquire it.

4

How far from the truth is that man, who, in a Christian society, can not only possess wealth, in the midst of the needy, but can also take pride in it.

5

Only a man who is sure that he is not such a man as all others but better than they, can own wealth among the poor with a quiet conscience. Only by the thought that he is better than other people can such a man justify to himself his wealth in the midst of the poor. And what is most amazing of all is that the very possession of wealth, by reason of which a man is inferior to poor people, serves him as the main proof of his superiority over the poor.

"I possess wealth because I am better than others, and I am better than others because I possess wealth," says such a man.

He who has wealth shall hardly enter into the kingdom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.

6

Wealth never gives satisfaction. Needs always grow imperceptibly with the increase of wealth, so that the greater the wealth, the less it suffices for the satisfaction of needs.

7

He who owns more land than is necessary for him to feed himself and his family is not only a party to, but is to blame for that want and depravity and all those miseries from which the masses of the people suffer.

XV

1

Remember always that in every man dwells that very God who dwells in you. And, therefore, when you meet a man, whosoever he may be, do not forget that there is nothing in the world higher and more important than that which is in this man. And, therefore, however evil a man's deeds may be, you should revere the man himself, whosoever he may be, as you revere God, and love him as yourself; and, therefore, do for him that which you would desire for yourself, if you were in his place.

2

They call people your excellency, your highness, your honor, your majesty, my dear sir, your reverence, master,—but there is only one name which is appropriate to all and offends none. This name is—brother. This name is also good in that it reminds us of that Father through whom we are all brothers.

3

The delusion of the inequality of men, resulting in drunkenness of power for some and in servility for others, is the chief cause of that ability of men united in a government organization to act against conscience without feeling its pangs.

4

Everyone knows very well, knows without a doubt, with all his being, that all men are equal. And, at the same time, he sees round him the division of all people into two castes; the one laboring, oppressed needy and suffering; and the other—idle, oppressing, living in luxury and making merry. He not only sees this, but willynilly, on one side or another, he takes part in this division of people which is rejected by his conscience; and he cannot fail to suffer from the consciousness of such a contradiction and from his participation in it.

5

People of ancient times and even of the Middle Ages believed, actually believed, that people were not equal, that only the Persians, only the Greeks, only Romans, only the French were real people; but of course we cannot believe this. And those people of our time who defend aristocracy and patriotism to the death, do not believe, cannot believe what they are saying.

6

No one is such a living example of true equality as are children. And how criminal grown people are, who break down this sacred feeling in children by teaching them that there are kings, rich men, celebrities, who should be treated with deference, and that there are servants, workers, beggars who should be treated with condescension.

"But whosoever shall lead into temptation one of these little ones . . ."

7

Christianity, like all other religions, was perverted, but with this difference: precisely because Christianity proclaimed its fundamental thesis of the equality of all men as the sons of God with especial clearness, it was necessary to pervert the whole teaching in an especially violent way, in order to hide its fundamental thesis.

(To be continued)

The Study Table

A New Book on Henry George

"The Prophet of San Francisco" was the name derisively applied to Henry George by the Duke of Argyle; and it is the name chosen by the late Louis F. Post for the present volume.*

It is timely that this book should appear just now. Tariffs are causing ill feeling between the nations, all over the world, with our own especially abominable tariff heading the list as a breeder of hate. While most countries, including the United States, are trying to secure prosperity by high protection, and signally failing, it is good to turn to the clear and simple economic gospel of one of the world's great thinkers, who long ago pointed out a better way.

The author explains that this book is not meant as a biography, the life of Henry George having been already written by his son; nor as a history of the Single Tax movement, which has also been written. He says it is "nothing more than the memories of a personal friend, and the interpretations of a long-time and intimate disciple." Yet it partakes largely of both biography and history. There is no finer reading than the lives of the saints; and Mr. Post was exceptionally qualified to give us a graphic picture of this remarkable man, of whom Edward N. Vallandigham says in the Introduction, "I think of Henry George with the same glow at heart that comes when I think of Abraham Lincoln." Mr. Post was also thoroughly familiar with the history of the Single-Tax movement, in which he bore a large and important part. He gives us a thrilling account of those wonderful campaigns which so nearly elected Henry George Mayor of New York. He tells of the United Labor Party, the Anti-Poverty Society, the Cleveland and Bryan campaigns, and the work of Tom Johnson. There are clear and forcible expositions of the doctrine set forth in "Progress and Poverty," a book which at first had to be published by the author at his own expense, and was later translated into many languages and circulated by hundreds of thousands. Nuggets of Henry George's wisdom are scattered liberally through the book, e. g., "As land is necessary to the exertion of labor in the production of wealth, to command the land which is necessary to labor is to command all the fruits of labor, save enough to enable labor to exist." Often Mr. Post throws in a nugget of his own, as when he says, referring to the diverse elements that joined to oppose Henry George for the mayorality:

> It was neither the first time nor the last that various breeds of social birds of prey have united to 'save society.' Parasites of society always assume that the stability of society depends upon perpetuating their plundering privileges.

*"The Prophet of San Francisco," by Louis F. Post. Published by the Vanguard Press, New York. $3.

Henry George was a pacifist. He said:

The great agencies that have everywhere enslaved men have been the passions kindled by war and bloodshed; and when civilization has gone down, it has been in the action and reaction of violence.

A newspaper interviewer, surprised that he did not approve of violent methods, asked him, "Then you are not in favor of dynamite, and don't believe in explosions as a means of coercing commercial interests?" He answered:

You might as well ask me if I believe in cannibalism. I don't believe in doing evil that good may come. . . . Force can accomplish nothing for the masses of the people until they form some intelligible idea of what they want; and when they do this, force will be needless.

Yet, in commenting on President Cleveland's use of Federal troops to break the strike of the railwaymen, he said:

I yield to nobody in my respect for law and order, and my hatred of disorder; but there is something more important even than law and order, and that is the principle of liberty. I yield to nobody in my respect for the rights of property; yet I would rather see every locomotive in the land ditched, every car and every depot burned, and every rail torn up, than to have them preserved by means of a Federal standing army. That is the order that reigned in Warsaw. That is the order in the keeping of which every democratic republic before ours has fallen. I love the American republic better than I love such order.

There is such a wealth of material in this book that it is hard even to outline its contents. The author tells of Henry George from many sides—his family-life, his spiritual vision, his chief works, his views on many subjects, including the future of his cause, which the author says is steadily though quietly gaining converts. There is a list of the men who advocate like ideas, before and since, and answers to the principal objections; a description of Henry George's chief works; and an account of the *Standard* and of the *Public*, which Mr. Post edited so ably for many years. It would be interesting to quote the explanation of the kind of Socialism that Henry George believed in and the kind he did not; his reasons for thinking permanent organization for the promotion of a political reform to be generally unwise; his argument for the immortality of human beings and of animals; and his opinions on many other subjects, including the right relations between husband and wife. Henry George married at twenty-two a girl of eighteen, who was all his life, he declared, his best adviser. The present volume has been brought out under the intelligent and affectionate supervision of Alice Thacher Post, who was so sympathetically associated with her husband for years in Single-Tax work and in the editorship of the *Public*. The book is a treasury of interesting and inspiring material. It is dedicated "To the memory of the late Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, and to Andrew P. Canning of Chicago."

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

The League of Nations

It is remarkable how few among educated people really know about the League of Nations or care about it. They know there is such a thing, but do very little to help its work. They judge the work of the League more by what it has not done than by what it has accomplished.

The aim of the League is, of course, to put an end to war among the nations. But because this aim has not been achieved in ten years, there is much skepticism whether it can ever be achieved by the League. Why people should expect that habits of civilization of tens of thousands of years towards war should be changed in ten years, is incomprehensible. The life of nations has hitherto been organized for war, and nothing short of a divine miracle can change the world's spirit with the rapidity which is expected of the League of Nations.

Yet, on the other hand, the work with the League has achieved is indeed remarkable, though only a few people really know about it. It is that work which has been most excellently summarized in a book* just published by John Eppstein, which has an introduction by Viscount Cecil. Distinguished publicists contribute articles on the various aspects of the League's work, and Professor Gilbert Murray closes with an epilogue. The work is most beautifully produced and it is not too large to tax the patience of the sympathetic inquirer. We are given a brilliant survey of the work of the League in many departments. The first part of the work describes the making of the League of Nations. The second part deals with the way the League is actually at work, fostering industrial cooperation, efforts for the relief of prisoners and refugees, the solution of the labor problem, the suppression of the white slave and drug traffic, etc.

No one can refute the fact that, in many departments, the work of the League can be challenged. One criticism which has been made is that the League is not really one of nations, but far more a league of five or six principal Powers, who are trying to dominate the policy of other nations. This criticism has much foundation, and the suspicion that England, France, Italy and Japan are trying to dominate the League is not without a basis. In the beginning of the League, a criticism was made that it was not a League of Nations but far more a League of "White" nations who were banded together to impose their will on the colored nations of the world. Most of the countries of South and Central America are very suspicious of the work of the League. The two principal countries—Brazil and the Argentine—have stepped out of the League. The Latin American peoples feel that the League of Nations is far more interested in the affairs of Europe than in the affairs of North and South America. In Central America, most trenchant criticism is leveled against the League because it will not interfere to curb the imperialistic tendencies of the United States.

All these criticisms have a basis in fact. But those who criticize see the problem strictly from their own personal standpoint, and not from the standpoint for which the League stands; that is, it is a league not to protect merely the interests of one nation as against another, but rather to develop a new order in the world with a new world conscience. It was difficult for me to make Brazilians realize that Brazil's refusal to be any longer a member of the League thwarted the work of the League in trying to curb the imperialistic tendencies of certain great Powers. Brazil cannot understand how the Indians in Kenya and other mandated territories feel more sure of their position because the League of Nations gets a yearly report concerning the work of the Mandatories. It is perfectly true that the League does not seem to interfere, as much as it

*"Ten Years' Life of the League of Nations—A History of the Origins of the League and Its Development from A. D. 1919 to 1929" —compiled by John Eppstein.

might, on behalf of various just causes in the mandated territories. But, on the other hand, the very fact that the Mandatories like England and France must present a report of their trust before a world tribunal does curb imperialistic excesses. Central America desires to follow the lead of Costa Rica, which has left the League because the League will not define what the United States of America cannot do under the Monroe doctrine.

All who criticize, and as I have said, justly, forget that the power behind the League of Nations is not armies and navies but only that of awakened conscience of the world. Not only has this conscience yet to be awakened, but it has also to be guided. Just as Christianity, or any other great religion that was started, had to mold the opinions of millions before it could be effective, so it is with the work of the League of Nations. It is aiming to bring into the world the thought of a World Order directed by a World Conscience. Therefore, until the world—that is, its cultured representatives—identifies itself with the propaganda of the League, its action is bound to be merely a proclamation of principles like a World Sermon on the mount.

The defects of the League's working are many. But, on the other hand, it is the only League which exists. If there is to be a way out of imperialism and war and exploitation of the masses, the sole way is through the present League of Nations or another League which will be built on a broader and better foundation. But till that more idealistic League of Nations comes on the scene, the disappearance of the present League will be nothing short of the greatest of world calamities.

Briefly summarized, those men and women in the world who feel the need of justice and fair-dealing in the world must, in these days, add to their religion —whether Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, Mohammedanism or Judaism—a new religion which is the religion of World Order and World Conscience. And the Messiah who brings this new Gospel which will help the world is the present League of Nations.

G. JINARAYADASA, M. A.

A Deserved Reputation

Chicago's growth is phenomenal. In a hundred years it has grown from a small fort on the Chicago River to a city of more than three million. Whether this growth was a natural result of conditions in the Mid-West or some form of elephantism is yet to be seen. Anyhow, the city has had its growing pains.

Beginning with a mud lake on which to build its towers the city has constantly faced difficulties. The lake and river had to be mastered. Then, because of its hurried growth, disaster was added to difficulty—the great conflagration, and the Iroquois Theatre fire. Whatever Chicago did, she did it "big," whether a World's Fair or an "Eastland" disaster. Labor troubles, climaxed by the Haymarket riots and race troubles coming to a climax in the riots of 1919, were disasters within. Through it all the city went forward with the usual Rotarian optimism. In spite of rotten politics, crooked politics, gangdom politics, and more rotten politics she built her parks, streets and public improvements. Her reformers organized against crime and poverty. The city prospers beyond all the dreams of its advertisers.

There is no other explanation of its reputation but that it is deserved. Other cities in this country have had to fight crime and corruption. Chicago has undertaken intensive advertising of her black side as well as her white. Like the authors of this book* she smiles at the misdeeds of her children and thinks these are forgiven by the good deeds. Every loyal Chicagoan will tell you about crime and then add, "But look at the good things we have."

William Hale Thompson, mayor, symbolizes the spirit of the big, blustery city that doesn't know where it is going and doesn't care as long as it is going; and then surprises us all that it gets there.

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

*Chicago, The History of Its Reputation. By Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.75.

California

I

There are no hills in prison
Nor are trees.
Prison is just a never-ending plain
Of arid bareness
And the selfsame patch
Of sky.
These
Are the only things the prisoner has
To soothe his pain,
To guide his spirit by.
By these
Do prisoners subjugate their wills.
There are no trees
Or hills.

II

Boost now, for California,
Chant her praise.
Sing of cool moonlit nights
And sun-bright days.
Boast how the transient tourist,
Enchanted, stays.

Over at San Quentin
Counting off the days
One (but not a tourist)
Stays.

What a grim paradox
In the same state.
Do not tell
That a city of the angels
And a golden gate
Can be so close to hell.
But the governor has a conscience,
Let us wait.

III

Speak governor, speak.
What does your conscience say?
Surely you were but speaking from the head,
But rendering to Caesar, when you said
"Bring water, let me wash my hands of this."
Ah, Pilate! Where is Judas with his kiss?

Is it again, a governor of a state,
Petitioned what to do when hope is gone,
Is it again that he can only say
"Wait—
Wait on—
Just wait?"

There are no hills in prison
Nor are trees.

FREDERIC COVER.

Correspondence

Revolution Marches on in India

(Extracts from a personal letter)

Dear Mr. Holmes:

Last week I visited some of the villages in Bardoli to see what they are doing to meet the No-Tax campaign. They have sent away all their belongings to their friends and relatives outside British India. So that, if the Government confiscate any of their present moveable property, they will get next to nothing and perhaps the Government will stand to lose in trying to realize these assets. It will not be worth their while. I was struck with their grim determination to face the Government, come what may, especially the women folk seemed firm in their resolve to end this system of exploitation. They will not have any part or parcel in maintaining such a government which saps the very life out of the people. They have converted their homes into veritable prisons, shut in on all sides with even their cattle inside the houses. The moment they heard the hoot of the horn of the car in which I went, they all scampered into their houses and bolted fast the doors thinking it was the car of a Government official. But when they saw through some peepholes it was a party of their own, they all came out laughing. Even their granaries have been emptied and the villages present a deserted appearance on arrival with not a living soul abroad.

Where a farmer has been sent to prison his farm is cultivated by the whole village for his wife. And if anyone's grain is taken away, the villagers pool the loss and make good to the one whose grain has been removed by the Government. This sort of mutual help is binding the villagers together, to think socially. . . .

So the Government has picked up from the highways and byways fifty men to put up a show in London. Almost all these have been Government servants at one time or another and have been decorated with knighthoods for their loyalty to the British throne, and many of them co-operated with the Simon Commission, and to put them on again now is absolutely useless. It is like having a round table conference with the members of the Simon Commission itself. What a farce! The Britishers are such fools to be duped like this. How can we have any confidence in such a nation? They are so conceited that they are prepared to believe anything a white man says against even Gandhiji. Well, their days are numbered.

K.

Ahmedabad, India.

A Friend in India

Editor of UNITY:

After reading an eloquent article of yours reprinted in the *Bombay Chronicle*, I am tempted to write to you regarding your paper UNITY. At a time when India is painted in the darkest colors by those who find their bread and butter in India, and when she is being misrepresented abroad, it is really a pleasure and a relief to find a journal that stands uncompromisingly and unflinchingly for India and for truth. And such a journal we meet with in UNITY. I do not know whether I am hasty, but I pronounce this judgment on reading the reprint of your article in the *Chronicle*. . . .

GOVINDLAL D. SHAH.

Ahmedabad, India.

Cancelling the War Debts

Editor of UNITY:

Rarely do I disagree with UNITY's attitude on public questions; but your conclusions regarding the cancellation of war debts (in your issue of October 20) have prompted some reflections from a different point of view.

Surely you are mistaken in saying France and Italy are paying us nothing. Both have made definite agreements for debt settlement, France having ratified her agreement July 27, 1929. Both have already made payments, and have agreed to scale down German reparation payments by as much as we reduce their own present indebtedness to us. England in the famous Balfour note declares she will collect from her debtors among the Allies and from Germany only enough to pay her own war debts (largely owed to America).

The question remains: Where should cancellations begin? You say, with the Allies wiping out the German reparation debts. Your argument, based on recently disclosed facts about war-guilt, is valid. But there is another side.

America entered the war declaring with President Wilson that it was a war to make the world safe for democracy. If it was, then we belonged in it from the start. Instead of the Allies owing us billions, we rightly owe them billions for carrying our share of the burden of war through three terrible years. If we do not want to accept that logic we must repudiate the idea that it was a war waged in a common cause. If we repudiate that idea, then why did we enter the war?

Was it because some of our shipping was destroyed and some American lives lost on ships that were carrying war supplies to the Allies? Does anyone want to believe that we went to war to defend our right to ship war supplies to the Allies while the Allies were denying us the right to ship even food to Germany? (True, some of Germany's acts were illegal; but so were some of England's in her treatment of neutral shipping. At least President Wilson believed so.)

If it was not a war to save democracy, nor one to protect shipping rights, the only explanation left is that American financiers became alarmed for the safety of their loans to the Allies in the event of the latter being defeated. This uncomforting explanation is now held by many (including UNITY doubtless). It may indeed be the true explanation; but it does not square with our official declaration of reasons for going to war. And that declaration ought to bind us morally and legally in the matter of debt settlement.

Having published to the world that we were entering the war in a common cause—to preserve democracy and right and justice, how can we honorably do otherwise than to cancel the debts of the Allies to us and return the money we took while they were holding their share of the line and our's too?

If England, France and Italy are willing to credit German reparation debts such deductions as we are willing to make from the Allies' debts to us (and these nearly equal the reparations debts) why argue about who is to make the first move? Ought we not to covet the honor of making the first move in so happy a solution of a desperately grave problem?

And, finally, Bertrand Russell is obviously mistaken when he says: "The money will in any case be used for armaments—American if the debts are not cancelled, European if they are." If Germany is to be the beneficiary of the debt cancellations, they will not mean increased German armaments, as these are forbidden her in the Versailles Treaty.

F. S. KINDER

Denver, Colorado.

Oppressed Bulgarians in Greece

Editor of UNITY:

The recent conference in Athens on the Balkan Federation has just been closed. The main purpose of the conference was to establish the conditions upon which a Balkan Federation could be attained. The Macedonian immigrants residing in the United States of America and Canada organized in the Macedonian Political Organization, at their conference held in Youngstown, Ohio, from August 31st to September 4th, 1930, expressed their attitude on the idea of a Federation of the Balkan Nations in a special declaration.

As soon as the Athens conference closed its sessions on October 11th of this year, the Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Venizelos, made a statement to the Bulgarian journalists in Athens to the effect that the question of the Bulgarian minority in Greece was to be regulated, and that he would be the first one in Greece to intervene in favor of the opening of the Bulgarian schools if the people would demand the same. This declaration of Mr. Venizelos was with reference only to the Bulgarian minority in Greek Macedonia. This minority is deprived of national and religious rights and for many years it has been making unheard of efforts to regain its lost liberties.

We, the Macedonian immigrants who come from that part of Macedonia under Greece and who are Bulgarians by nationality, have frequently informed the public opinion of the United States of America and Canada, that the Greek State closed all our Bulgarian schools, churches, convents,

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

The Seminar in the Caribbean

A Co-operative Study of the Life and Culture of the Caribbean Peoples and of Their Relations With the United States

First Annual Session

February 14—March 4, 1931

The Seminar in the Caribbean has been established as one of the annual projects of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America. It has been organized in response to numerous representations to the committee as to the critical importance of the Caribbean in the international relations of the United States.

The purpose of the committee is the furthering of mutual understanding and appreciation between the peoples of the United States and of the Latin American republics. The first project of the committee, The Seminar in Mexico, is now in its sixth year.

Membership in the Seminar is open upon application or nomination to a representative group of editors, writers, lawyers, business men and women, college and university professors, artists, clergymen, librarians, social workers, engineers, officers of civic organizations and others.

Itinerary

The members of the Seminar will sail from New York on the S. S. Caledonia on February 14, 1931. Visits will be made to San Juan, Puerto Rico; Santo Domingo; Colon, Canal Zone; Kingston, Jamaica; Port-au-Prince, Haiti; Havana, Cuba. They will reach New York, March 4.

The S. S. Caledonia is an excellent steamer of the popular cabin class type, 16,700 tons displacement, with ample deck space, lounges, swimming pool and arrangements for recreation. One large room has been set aside for the lectures and round tables of the Seminar.

The trips ashore will permit contacts with leaders of the various countries, brief visits inland, etc. At each point a program will be arranged, with some free time for shopping, sightseeing and recreation.

An Alternative Arrangement

A limited number of the members of the Seminar will spend six days of intensive study in Santo Domingo and Haiti by omitting the visits to Jamaica and the Canal Zone. The members of this section of the Seminar will travel from Santo Domingo to Port-au-Prince, Haiti, by automobile, and there rejoin the Seminar for the trip to Havana and New York. The additional expense for this special program will be approximately $90.00. It is expected that Dr. Ernest Gruening will be in charge of this special Santo Domingo-Haiti program.

Program

The program of the Seminar will include:

(1) Lectures, round tables and discussions on shipboard.

(2) Conferences with leaders of countries visited in business, education, government, etc.

(3) Visits to educational institutions, social work agencies, rural districts, etc.

The committee offers its services to members of the Seminar by preparing reading lists, etc. These will be circulated soon after registration.

Leaders and Lecturers

The tentative list of lecturers and leaders of round tables includes Dr. Chester Lloyd Jones, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Dr. Leland H. Jenks, Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman, Dr. Frank Tannenbaum, Dr. Ernest Gruening, Charles Thomson, Carleton Beals and other students of Latin America. We hope also to have with us for various sections of the trip such distinguished representatives of the Caribbean countries as Dr. Fernando Ortiz of Cuba, Dr. Moises Saenz of Mexico, and others.

Definite announcement of the program will be made in January.

Former Seminars

The Seminars of the Committee which have been held in Latin America during the past five years have been attended by over 400 men and women, among them Judge Florence E. Allen of the Supreme Court of Ohio, President Ada Comstock of Radcliffe College, President J. Edgar Park of Wheaton College; such editors and writers as Paul U. Kellogg, Mary Austin, Herbert Croly, Isaac Landman, Samuel Guy Inman, Paul Hutchinson, Benjamin Stolberg, Dan Brummitt, Dorothy Detzer, and Waldo Frank; such professors as Herbert A. Miller, Edward A. Ross, Chester Lloyd Jones, J. Fred Rippy, Charles G. Fenwick, Alva W. Taylor, William Franklin Sands; such clergymen as Bishop Edwin V. O'Hara, Father Frederic Siedenburg, Father Joseph F. Thorning, Rabbi Ephraim Frisch, Rabbi Joseph Fink, Rabbi Leon Fram, Rev. Cameron P. Hall, Dr. Henry M. Edmonds, Dr. M. Ashby Jones; law-

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hospitals, organizations, libraries, persecuted or exiled any educated person and kept the population under fear of punishment in order to prevent the usage of the Bulgarian language and to force the population to call themselves Greeks. It changed all the Bulgarian names of the villages and cities and gave them Greek names. It prohibited by law the Bulgarians to use their own proper names and forced upon them Greek name endings. By special regulation the Greek government informed us, the immigrants in America, that when we write to our fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters in Macedonia, we should address our letters in Greek names. If this order is not fulfilled the ordinary letters will be destroyed and the registered ones will be returned. Numerous letters in this fashion have been destroyed. We enclose a photographic copy of a letter returned in this fashion.

It is easy, therefore, to understand what value the declarations of the Greek Prime Minister have concerning the Bulgarian population in Macedonia. They are a ruse of Greek diplomacy with the purpose of misleading public opinion of the United States of America and Europe. In support of this contention we need only recall the famous "Little Protocol" of 1925, which recognizing the existence of a Bulgarian minority in Macedonia, and providing for the opening of Bulgarian schools, was sponsored by the League of Nations and accepted by the Greek Delegate, Mr. Politis, but was subsequently rejected on the instigation of Mr. Venizelos in the Greek Parliament. Happily the public is well informed and already resents the Greek oppression upon the conscience, property and life of the enslaved Bulgarians.

Owing to previous experience the Central Committee has grounds to suspect that after similar declarations the Greek government would renew its cruel persecution against the Bulgarian element in Macedonia and they consider the declaration of Mr. Venizelos a new "lullaby" at the expense of the Bulgarian minority under Greek rule. The public opinion of the United States and Canada is requested to protest against this insincerity of the Greek government, and to intervene on behalf of the oppressed Bulgarians for the return of their liberties. The help extended to enslaved Macedonia against Greece is at the same time a precious co-operation in the work of peace, justice and liberty for which we are making unsparing efforts. Only at the price of such effort, a real and lasting Balkan conciliation can be worked out. This understanding among the States of the Balkans should not be based on the abuse of the treaties of peace which results in the national obliteration of the Bulgarians in Macedonia. It should be carried in good faith with the avowed purpose to obtain a lasting and just pacification of the Balkans. In the absence of such goodwill and confidence the Balkans will be the theatre of new and more cruel conflicts. Macedonia will never suffer obliteration but will continue to struggle for liberty at any price.

P. G. SHANEFF.
President, Macedonian Political Organization
New York City, N. Y. of the U. S. A. and Canada.

Thanks!

Editor of UNITY:

I have given up reading papers daily in order to keep up with UNITY. No newspaper ever publishes the news that UNITY does. Let's hope in the future that more subscribers will keep the list growing. Let us have more news on the India situation.

New York City, N. Y. WALTER KUHN.

Au Revoir

Editor of UNITY:

Will you kindly cancel my subscription to UNITY. It is a splendid paper and I have enjoyed it tremendously during these last several years. A year or two hence I hope again to be on your subscription list.

With best wishes to you,

Cortland, N. Y. GUSTAVE H. ULRICH.

yers such as Walter Frank of New York, Milford Stern of Detroit, Allen S. Olmstead of Philadelphia, Frank H. McCulloch, Catharine Waugh McCulloch and Herbert J. Friedman of Chicago, and Jackson H. Ralston of Palo Alto; social workers such as Alice Gannett and Kathleen Jennison Lowrie; representatives of the National Y. W. C. A. and Y. M. C. A.; representative physicians, librarians, bankers, business men and artists.

Participation in the Seminar in the Caribbean may be combined with a winter vacation. It will be held at a time when travel is heavy and early reservation of space is necessary.

The Seminar, it should be noted, is committed to no political, economic or credal point of view. Its purpose is to secure facts and insight. It is a fixed policy of the committee that no resolutions shall be adopted. The committee serves no propagandist's cause.

The Cost

The committee makes all travel arrangements and furnishes an inclusive rate from New York to New York. The minimum rate is $287.50 and includes a berth in a minimum priced stateroom (two in a room), all meals on shipboard, field trips in Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Haiti, and Havana; expense of the program, lectures and round tables; a copy of the report of the Seminar. The rate does not include meals on shore (these are optional, as the rate includes all meals on the ship), field trips in the Canal Zone, and Jamaica, tips, steamer chairs, laundry, mineral water.

A considerable number of staterooms are available at the minimum rate for those who register early. These minimum priced staterooms are small but comfortable. They are, of course, located on the lower decks. The use of better staterooms involves an additional expense of $50.00, $75.00 and more per person. Those who wish higher priced staterooms will be charged an additional amount in accordance with the tariff of the steamship company.

All arrangements for steamship accommodations will be handled by the business secretary of the committee.

The Seminar is not conducted for profit, and the rates quoted are made possible by the contributions of many individuals who support the budget of the committee. The inclusive rate includes the cost of the stateroom and a charge for the partial defraying of the expense of organization, the expense of program, automobiles for field trips, and the printed report of the Seminar.

A registration fee of $50.00 reserves a place in the Seminar. The registration fee will be returned in full if cancellation is made prior to February 1. If cancellation is received after February 1, one-half will be returned.

Applications for Membership

Applications for membership should be addressed to the Executive Director of the Committee. In applying, please state profession or business, academic training, membership and contacts with civic and educational organizations.

HUBERT C. HERRING,
Executive Director.
112 East 19th St., New York City.

The English Fellowship of Reconciliation on India

At this critical period in Anglo-Indian relations, it is refreshing to read the pronouncement of the Arley Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation from which the following citations are taken:

"There is a clear demand, which has now become general in India, for immediate dominion status. The forthcoming Round Table Conference neither can nor should hope for success with any less result. The Fellowship of Reconciliation believes that it is impossible, even by force of arms, for one nation to govern another against its will. Neither good intentions nor apparent material benefits can justify the attempt, and our country would be wrong to try to maintain its position in India by force. While present relations continue, matters can only grow worse; and we are convinced that open violence is only being held in check by the moral leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. We have tried to understand more fully the meaning of his work for India and have come to see in it the expression of a very wonderful method. It is immeasurably nearer to our ideal than any political method yet attempted, and brings a new hope into the affairs of men. We realize how far more pure and selfless are his actions than our own achievement. . . . Let us be willing to identify ourselves more fully with the Indian people in their suffering and in their claim for freedom. We join them in their claim. If their freedom should bring grave economic loss to our country and to ourselves, that is but a part of the price we must pay. . . ."

If by some political miracle the Round Table Conference could be made to function in the spirit of this utterance, a new day would dawn for India and the British Commonwealth. Any conclusion of the conference that falls short of immediate dominion status for India, with mutually acceptable safeguards covering the period of transition, will provoke a crisis with immeasurable possibilities of disaster.

—The World Tomorrow.

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